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Chapter III

Some Elements of the Material Culture and Their Transformations

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1. The village, the dwellings, and the furnishings

Bearers of the culture characteristic of the forest region, in which the subsistence activities include the toil of hunting in combination with tilling the soil, the Guarani settle, whenever possible, in the heart of the forest, avoiding the open landscape of the country. Their villages, far from constituting compact conglomerations of dwellings, consist of isolated houses more or less distant from one another, scattered in the open clearings in the forest. In general it [192] is not possible to determine a "center" of the village, unless one considers as such the dwellings of the ñanderú, doctor-sorcerer, 361 or the oýguatsú, house of religious celebrations. As a matter of 621 fact, the building in which the ceremonies are performed is the point of convergence of the religious and social activities of the group, so that the larger villages, in which there are two or more religious chiefs, tend to break up into as many different, quite independent nuclei, each with its own life. In the majority of cases these social units constitute kin groups /Port. parentelas/ under the direction of a great-family chief.

621 Whereas formerly, as everything indicates, the great-family 596 -- constituting a community of production, consumption, and re- 178 ligious life -- lived in one single dwelling large enough to shelter several dozen persons, today we only find the great house, and even so as an exception and survival, in one or another Kayová 178 village. The present-day Ñandéva and Mbüá live in very small 184 dwellings, corresponding to the elementary or nuclear families. 592 As far as the latter two groups are concerned, it is not easy to dis- 621 cover the reasons for the substitution, which might be explained either by influences from the Jesuit era or by the great spatial mobility of the hordes. As for the Kayová, among whom the process of /34/ economic individualization is in full force, through the interaction of the sylvicolist in the regional extractive and productive activities, the adoption of the abode of the elementary family is an answer to the imperative necessity imposed by the transformation of the economy.

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341 342 177 From the architectural point of view, there are two essential characteristics of the great house of the Kayová in contrast to the caboclo dwellings /35/ of the region: the lack of separation or division between covering and wall and, secondly, the absence of supports for the central line of the ridge.

One of the first concessions that is made to caboclo architecture is the adoption of central support for the ridge line. Next the covering is detached from the walls. Finally, the namara (corr. of [192] "ramada" /hut made of branches/) is built, a veranda or porch, sometimes separate from the house, covered with sapé. It is used as "living and dancing room" /quoted in English/. A typical example of the transition between the traditional Kayová dwelling and the caboclo habitation is the house of the Indian Mbopí of Dourados: to the predominantly Kayová shape was joined the Iberic veranda on the south side; moreover, instead of a door, some pieces of wood are used.

342 177 178 The Kayová habitations built according to the traditional technique of the tribe are already quite rare nowadays. Almost all of the Indians have come to prefer houses of the caboclo type or at most constructions in the mixed style, which tend more and more to lose the traces of sylvicolist origin. The traditional Kayová house satisfied a series of requisites of the social and religious organization. It constituted an ideal shelter for the con- [576] junction of elementary families that, congregate in the great-family under the protection of a single chief, formed an intimate community of life, with economic, religious, and political interests. The new conditions of life to which the tribe has been subjected for some decades have brought about, as we shall see, the fractioning of the great-family and, concomitantly, the replacement of the great house by some huts of caboclo type more [535] or less close to one another. For certain religious and profane dances of the chicha celebrations, performed in part in the dance area in front of the hut and in part in the interior of it, the traditional construction has the advantage of offering better conditions of space by not having posts or poles in the central line, which would obstruct the movements of the dancers.

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342 The extent of the Kayová house of traditional type is limited
• [596] only as to breadth, which depends on the length of the poles driven into the ground; the building may be longer or shorter, varying according to the number of elementary families that make up the great-family. It would be easy to enlarge it, making an extension /Port. puxado/; but it has not been made known to me that such has been done.

178 The type of the great-house is not adequate for the new con-
433 ditions of life of the Kayová. The elementary family is becoming
464 more and more the fundamental unit of production and consumption.
594 The economy, failing to be self-sufficient, obliges the men to
[177] leave the village and to /36/ work in the yerbales in order to earn the money needed to obtain the many things that are considered indispensable and that only civilization can give them. Because each adult man earns his money separately according to the services he has done for the patron, the primitive group-method of production is broken up.

342 The great houses are becoming so rare among the Kayová that
345 in the different villages I have visited I found only three: the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho in the village of Panambi; the one belonging to Isidro in Dourados; and one in Taquapiri or Cêrro Perõ. The first one and the one in Taquapiri were used as dwellings and as a house for celebrations, whereas the one belonging to Isidro, less than the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho, was used only for the chicha celebrations that Paí Vitaliano, Isidro's father, organized in it. But I have also seen chicha celebrations in houses of modern construction, although more spacious ones than the common dwellings. The great house for dances that belonged to Paí José Bourbon Catalan in Amambai, where there was a special room as the chamber of the doctor-sorcerer and his wife, was very carefully built, but it, too, did not follow the original pattern.

[123] The paí has a special affection for the house of celebrations and he
[552] is happy when the visitor refers to it in terms of praise. Paí José, who regarded me as one of the most educated representatives of the civilized world, honored me with a request to choose a name for his

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informal collaboration (10).

10. /From p. 65 of the original source./ Among the Mbüá of Paraguay they told me about having mutirões -- which they call putỹvõ -- of men and, more rarely, of women. The latter organize them to open the holes in the planting of the maize. Incidentally, these Mbüá consider all of planting women's work, "by divine command," allowing the collaboration of the men only in the case of having few women. Except in fishing with timbo, of collective interest, the pytỹvõ /sic/ is made for a certain family, not being accompanied or followed by any celebration. Perhaps this is explained by the fact that the Mbüá are not familiar with any fermented drink, which distinguishes them from the Kayová and the Ñandéva.

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A manifest expression of the solidarity of the local group, which, as has already been emphasized, is reduced in the final analysis to a mere association of great-families, the puxirão represents one of the few co-operative institutions by which the different groups of kindred are linked economically. Besides that, it is quite true, the distribution of the yield from hunting is to be emphasized. But as far as anything else is concerned, mutual aid in the economic sector, although constant and never lacking, takes place on an entirely informal plane. Each family plants for itself and considers itself the owner of its clearings; nevertheless, consumption assumes a quite communitarian form, particularly in times of want. Not noticeably affecting the self-sufficiency and the economic freedom of the different great-families that make up the local group, the exchange of services among them consequently assumes a genuine character of symbiosis.

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829 87 179 couple lived for three or four years in São Vicente, solely in order that their son could keep company with the scholastic group there. In order to earn his livelihood, the boy then sold bows and arrows in Guarujá and other places sought by bathers or tourists. Since, however, school is not an institution integrated into the tribal culture, the desire for civilization is not always concreted in regular attendance at the establishment of learning, even when there is a possibility for it. The official in charge of the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú at Araribá complained about the Guaraní who sent the children to school at the post only on those days on which clothing and food were distributed. [171] It is to be noted in passing that similar complaints were not made with reference to the Terêno of the same village: their children [171] were diligent, and they made satisfactory progress. The cause may lie in the more practical and positive orientation of the Terêno, who at that same post, by the way, attained an economic efficiency incomparably superior to that of the Guaraní.

861 [596] The social organization of the Guaraní is based on the great-family. According to Linton (3),

3. /From p. 84 of the original source./ Linton, 1945, p. 142.

the child who grew up in this type of family learns not to fix or focus its emotions or expectations of reward and punishment on a few or certain persons. Various adults are in a position to reward and to punish. What one does not do, another may do. -- As an 15 adult, too, the Guaraní has little emotional stability. He does not know romantic love, he flirts about in amorous relations and easily breaks up his marriage, leaving the child with his wife, in order to join another woman, facts that, incidentally, are aggravated with social disorganization. Similarly, he is not capable, in general, of very prolonged hatreds or a /73/ grudging attitude. Today he is quarreling with a neighbor, tomorrow he is talking and having fun with him again, or goes to ask him for a few beans or a box of matches. Some time ago the Indians of Itariri had a very ugly fight at the local station; they tore out the poles

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black or mulatto who lived at the post, told me that, after resisting for a while, she yielded to seduction because she liked him. The woman's stepfather took a knife to kill the man, perhaps in obedience to the caboclo pattern.

Given the precariousness of the matrimonial unions, marriage does not today constitute a factor of incisive importance in the lives of many Kayová. At Dourados, where there were even men who changed women from one chicha to another, the situation is tending to improve through the influence of the Christian mission that works among the Indians of the post. In the separation of a Kayová couple, the children, whether male or female, usually stay with the mother, as well as the house and the clearing, even though made by the husband. There are cases in which a mother, falling in love with another man, starts to mistreat the children, who constitute a kind of obstacle, inasmuch as the man does not like to take a woman with the children of someone else. It is to be noted in passing that mothers surpass the fathers in rigor in punishing the children. Fights between spouses are caused by alcoholism, jealousy, and the economic incapacity of the /79/ husband. Kayová women not infrequently decide to leave a lazy husband; when a man leaves the woman, it is generally because he has fallen in love with another.

It is clear that such a state of affairs will not fail to have profound repercussions in the existence of the whole community, since the Guaraní social structure is essentially based on the relations that govern family life. The rhythm of social disorganization is a function of the sphacelation of the primitive great-family. And in many groups of the present day the great-family can no longer exist because of the simple fact that the existence of the elementary family itself is precarious. By its very nature the great-family requires stability of the matrimonial bonds; otherwise, there is not a member large enough to constitute it, particularly since, in the case of divorce, the children -- especially among the Kayová -- preferably stay with the mother, the great-family, on the other hand, being based on the exercise of paternal authority. The example of one of the few great-families that has

178 581 596 586 /79 cont./ survived among the present-day Kayová, that of Paí Chiquinho (Panambí), illustrates very well the importance of a masculine personality in maintaining the traditional pattern. How can anyone become chief of a large great-family if he himself abandons the woman to whom he is married?

59 178 [851] [551] If we ask a Kayová boy, "Who are you?" he usually identifies himself with reference to his father; for instance: "Isidroraý," son of Isidro. It is, perhaps, a reminiscence of the primitive system, in which the domestic group always lived under the protection of a male. Nowadays many men spend a major part of the time working in the changa /as hired labor/ outside the village, and the children grow up under the protection of the mother. The bonds that bind them to her and to the maternal relatives are much stronger. Moreover, the mother remains the [171] same for life, whereas the father may "change," a situation, incidentally, also encountered in the rural populations of the Paraguayan border. And when he marries, the male child [606] easily frees himself from his family of origin, drawn to that of [591] the father-in-law, with whom and near whom he lives for some time, indeed by virtue of the institution of matrilocality; the married daughter, for her part, stays near her mother. Thus the persistence of the ancient matrilocality is combined with the loss of paternal authority, in the sense that only in exceptionally favorable conditions does the traditional organization of the great-family continue.

612 621 In any case, however, in all the Guaraní communities the solidarity of the kin group /Port. grupo parental/ continues to be superimposed on that of the village or local group. Wherever there are Guaraní, one hears talk in the kindreds /Port. parentelas/ that they are set against kindreds. The social ties that bind the inhabitants of a local group, on the other hand, are of a consistency /80/ so weak and so little permanent that the composition of the community of the village is subject to continual modifica- [829] tions. And the group in migration -- the "trinca" /seizing or

612 /80 cont./
621 lashing with ropes/ of So-and-So or of Mr. What-d'you-call-
[829] him, as the Mbüá say -- is always a kindred guided by a chief.

3. Economic relations in the family group

621 In some form the meshes of the net of economic relations
612 bind together all the individuals of a certain village or local
59 group. In other words: the local group constitutes an economic
[178] community in which in a more or less loose manner are bound by the community of interests the different units of production and consumption, which nowadays tend to be the elementary families. Kindreds made up of two, three, or more elementary families correspond to economic units of higher order, reflecting very well in their manifestations of solidarity the previous, pre-acculturative state, in which the great-family was the economic unit properly speaking. The congregation of the different great-families -- or kindreds -- to constitute a larger unit, whether the village or part of it (as a local group, geographically detached), occurs much more markedly on a religious basis, for just as the group of relatives is the elementary unit of production and consumption, the village constitutes the religious unit, at least on the occasion of the great celebrations of transcendental importance.

• 596 Finally, in former times, as everything indicates, the
178 great-family -- including the married couple, the married daughters, the sons-in-law, and the following generation -- constituted the unit of production and consumption. Its fragmentation may already have begun with the Jesuit influence.
[423] In some few cases the great-family even today is in practice the unit of production, although the clearings are declared to be the property of the various elementary families of the kindred.

59 One of these examples is the great-family of Paí Chiquinho
241 of the Kayová village of Panambi. The married son and each of the sons-in-law has a separate clearing, and Chiquinho insists on saying that, according to Kayová custom, each elementary family consumes the produce of its plantings. But at the time

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881 825 [582 624] Capitão Alberto of the Kayová village of Amambai told me that the tembetá is necessary "in order to arrange for a woman," that is, for marriage; whoever marries without having the lip pierced is in great danger of becoming a victim of jaguars, snakes, or even sorcery: he is more "odoriferous" for the jaguars. Nowadays, however, not all have a pierced lip. In any case, the piercing is essential for the formation of the male-cult personality among the Kayová. The man who does not have a labial orifice is not allowed to participate in the songs and dances of the annual celebration of the "baptism of the maize," avatí-mongaraí. According to the information of Matçal de Souza, such a restriction is not imposed on the women. Concerning the non-initiated boys, however, they are only allowed to attend the ceremonies. /The notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98 in the original source./

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Chapter VII

The Chieftaincy of the Community

622 621 Nowhere has contemporaneous Guaraní society managed to constitute an organization of state type; in the tribal culture, the idea of civil and political authority has had rudimentary development. According to traditional patterns, the political chieftaincy of the group coincides with the charismatic leadership of the priest or doctor-sorcerer. This may or may not coincide with the authority of the chief of the great-family. The chiefs of great-families, gathered in counsel, form a sort of informal senate, of consultive and deliberative function, without there inhering in it, among the present-day Guaraní of Brazil, any great authority based on some institution. In the groups more subject to influence from the civilized world, the political power is concentrated, at

[596] [623] 624 621 [648]

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624 officially represents the interests of the village in the presence of
648 the Brazilian inhabitants and is at the same time chief of police
177 within the group. It is his duty to re-establish order and to punish the culprits whenever the social disorganization and the abuse of alcohol give rise to quarrels and fights within the community.

624 /102/ In general the capitão occupies the office as long
622 as he is not dismissed by the official in charge of the administra-
578 tion of the post. While he must be supported by the powers of the
648 official, the ñanderú or paí can exert his authority even against
177 the one in charge of the post. In spite of the peaceful coexistence
182 of the two powers, the temporal and the spiritual, this state of affairs thus tends to generate a state of constant social tension, which is manifested in the relations between the group and the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Toward the ñanderú converge manifestations of criticism and discontent concerning the one in charge, who, in turn, regards the ñanderú as the principal obstacle to the proper completion of his mission. On the other hand, the capitão is the right hand of the one in charge and represents, so to speak, the "official" point of view. To the extent that it falls to him to represent and defend the material interests of the group, always threatened by the white man, and to serve as a connecting bridge between the Indians and the one in charge, the group indeed can not dispense with his cooperation. From this emerges the state of tension that shows clearly that the institution of the capitão or civil chief is not yet
624 integrated in the Guaraní culture. In actuality there are two
622 notions of chieftaincy in virtual conflict: the religious one, es-
182 sentially charismatic at bottom, authority that may extend to the
[554] whole village if the individual's prestige is sufficient for such, but
[596] also may be limited to the family group (there always being the possibility, as we have seen, of the different family chiefs coming to an understanding in consultative gatherings for informal discussion, whenever general interests of the local group are at stake); and the civil one, in the hands of the capitão a more or less despotic little chief of the whole village, influencing everything except what is really essential for the Guaraní, that is, the religious orientation of the community.

/103 cont./ It is therefore
624 not surprising that many Guaraní do not have a clear idea of the
182 functions that we occidentals attribute to the office of capitão.
829 They fail to seek him out when it would be proper for him to take energetic measures to re-establish order or to guarantee the security of the group, and, on the other hand, they run to him [126] about matters of little importance. I have met Guaraní who refused to be photographed before obtaining formal permission from the mburuvitxá (or ñanderúvitxá, as the Mbüá also call him).

62 The political chieftaincy has, as we have seen, a strictly
182 local basis, a jurisdiction that includes all the individuals in the village, while the religious one is at the same time familial, inasmuch as the followers of the ñanderú are made up of one, two, or more families constituting a neighborhood group and not necessarily the whole village.

622 Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who do not have an Indian
624 post, but who like to take trips to the cities that are more or less
177 close, therefore having frequent contacts with civilization, each
182 chief of a family (or of a "trinca," as they say) may, according
184 to the circumstances, assume the responsibilities of mburuvitxá.
[596] While traveling, the family chief is at the same time the "capitão"
[484] of the group that accompanies him. And the individual who wants
[486] to travel asks his family chief for permission. Furthermore, one notes in this village a kind of division of labor concerning the functions of the capitão. For external purposes, having need of contact with representatives of the Government, in order to defend the rights or interests of the collectivity, /104/ the capitão is Francisco, who speaks Portuguese quite well. Alcides, who seems to have been appointed to the position years ago, preferably exercises jurisdiction within the group; he is the one, for example, who performs marriages in the village. Marcelino, older brother of Alcides, and certainly the principal prayer-man and director of religious celebrations, is considered the true chief of Rio Branco; it is in his house that visitors are given hospitality.

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622 624 182 [596] Such a situation shows that the Mbüá do not necessarily tie to any specific person the exercise of the different functions of a civil government, but, in accordance with the tribal mentality, distribute them among various family chiefs, according to the needs of the moment and the competence of each one. The religious chieftaincy and the political one tend to coincide there with the administration of the family group. As we have already seen, it is proof that the office of capitão is not yet integrated as an institution in the culture of the tribe. The institution, in [177] [648] order to be maintained, needs the direct and constant support of the official of the Serviço de Proteção ao Índios. Where, as in Rio Branco, there is no official post, there can be no capitão properly speaking.

624 156 But at the posts, too, one can observe that the capitão is not considered the supreme authority. He often takes counsel with the ñanderú in order better to define his attitudes and to learn what measures should be taken. In any case, his authority lacks the charismatic basis that is essential for the Guaraní. [114] When I visited the Mbüá at Xapecó, they had as capitão a fellow about twenty years old or a little older. But his authority seemed to be merely nominal. "In order to be cacique," they told me, "it is necessary to know how to pray" and to be ñanderú or at least [622] vvyráídjá (cult assistant). The young capitão and his companions obeyed the ñanderú Dionísio, an old man who had the plan of migrating with his group to the coast, in order to hasten the de- [622] parture for the Land without Misfortunes. The capitão of Araribá is Manequinho or Poýdjú, appointed several decades ago; but the religious chief, ñanderú Sebastião(now deceased), although he was almost a stranger, since he had come from Dourados, was the one who took care of the interests of his comrades.

624 554 [184] In some villages there are rivalries and even intrigues in order to occupy the office of capitão, this when they can not adopt the solution of the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who allow several capitães /plural of capitão/ side by side. The economic advantages of the office seem to be the main reason for the competition. The civil chief of the village has greater facility in obtaining gifts from the official in charge of the post and from strangers, and he

181 /181 cont./
182 recourse to substitute or subsidiary activities -- commercializa-
177 tion of artifacts, begging trips, etc. -- arising from the contact
735 prevails.

Since Guaraní society does not give prestige to individuals
177 according to the material goods that they by chance possess, there
433 is no stimulus to develop economic productivity, not recognized
18 as a factor of social distinction. This is one of the causes of the
[554] "indolence" which is imputed to the half-caboclolzed Guaraní,
who works irregularly, disdains comfort, does not save, does not
know how to deal with money, and sometimes, in order to satisfy
the needs born out of contact with the white man, shows a strong
inclination for theft. But aside from the lack of motivation for
economic production on the scale of values elaborated by the cul-
ture of the tribe, there is the further difficulty of putting the tra-
ditional techniques and behavior patterns in the service of the new
177 objectives. In southern Mato Grosso, contrary to what happened
433 in other places, the Guaraní still have the advantage of finding
464 in the yerba maté industry a field of application for their aptitude
18 as gatherers, in the same way as, for example, the Terêno and
Kaduvêo /Caduveo/ apply their knowledge of shepherding and
their skill as horsemen, finding employment as hands on livestock
fazendas. But the changa in the yerbales does not provide them
with a path to satisfactory economic acculturation, precisely be-
cause it does not promote the replacement of the primitive im-
mediatism of the tribal culture by a spirit of prescience of the
future. This is why it is commonly said at the native posts that the
changa "ruins the Indians." They give up tillage, because on the
yerbal they receive provisions in advance, although for an exorbi-
tant price, including the products of the /182/ fields, such as
batata, maize, mandioca, and beans. They spend weeks on end
in the yerbales (some with the whole family), earning good wages,
of which, however, nothing is left over.

177 The need to face new economic demands causes more or less
18 radical transformations in the family organization. As the com-
596 munitary economy of the great-family cannot exist, the role of
chief traditionally exercised by the father, including matters of

/182 cont./

religious worship, is also weakened. Spending a large part of his time on fazendas or yerbales, the man develops interests and attitudes not very favorable to the spirit of the great-family. It is common for the young fellows and married men to spend in one night the proceeds from a week of work, not infrequently forgetting to provide for the sustenance of the family group. The great-family ceases to be the unit of production and consumption, yielding its place to the elementary family, whose stable nucleus is sometimes reduced to a woman with her smaller children.

It is in the religious system that, in spite of the great differences from one subgroup to another, Guaraní culture finds the maximal expression of its fundamental unity. And it is in the religion that the defense mechanisms and the conditions of cultural resistance appear in their most manifest form.

As everything indicates, the principal mark that the Jesuit missions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries left on the Guaraní religion was the emphasis assumed by the cataclysmology (in particular the destruction of the world in the future), bound up with the idea of redemption in the mythical Paradise. Some of the teachings transmitted in the catechism, finding points of support in certain notions of the traditional doctrine, came to constitute centers of re-elaboration of the religion of the tribe.

In the last two centuries there have been few attempts at the systematic Christianization of the Guaraní living in Brazil, among them the catechizing that has been going on for decades at the Evangelical mission of Dourados. The result is that the religious acculturation of the contemporaneous Guaraní groups originates almost exclusively through contact with the rural or urban Luso-Brazilian populations, through a reinterpretation, in magical terms, of the Christian elements. And, as they are transferred to the religious sphere properly speaking, the new practices and ideas are integrated into the traditional system thanks to an effort to reconcile the two religions on the basis of similarities and analogies. Thus, for example, the angels of the Christian belief are easily identified with the Nandedjára rembiguái, ancillary spirits, which the Kayová doctrine mentions.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

system of recognized proprietary rights over hives when found (according to the finder), and indications are that a rude sort of conservation was practiced. This aimed at not destroying a hive or robbing it to the extent that the bee swarm would move to another location, making it necessary to rediscover them or find a new swarm. Amulets are reported for honey gathering among modern Cayuá[48] and apparently were used to keep the bee swarms from leaving their hives as well as to insure a good quantity of honey. There is little reason to think such practices uniquely modern. The magic in this regard is generally similar to hunting magic.[49]

MATERIAL CULTURE

The aboriginal Cayuá house type was the *tapúi*, a long house with a roof which sloped to the ground. The heavy part of the interior structure was composed of a quadrangular skeleton of stout poles lashed together, using crotches in the uprights to place horizontal pieces. Over this basic structure was erected a light framework of bamboo stringers or other small material, inclined at a 45° to 50° angle; running from the ground, the opposite banks of stringers met at the roof peak. (See Plate I.) Across these, all around the structure, were lashed the horizontal stringers, regularly spaced. The sides of the house were flat, but the ends were rounded out like half-sections of cones. The general impression has been described as that of an overturned boat, V-shaped in cross-section. The whole was then thatched, and appears quite similar to the house type described for the Coastal Tupi; it is also generally similar to that in use among a number of Amazonian peoples, not Tupi-Guarani. The doors were usually low and were from one to three in number, possibly more. Such houses varied in size, but in the main they were to be described as large. The size of the structure and the disposition of interior arrangements all unmistakably show that the *tapúi* was intended to accommodate the extended family, which was aboriginally the basic unit of society.

Houses were placed in cleared spaces in the forest, and a rectangular ground immediately in front and about the *tapúi* was beaten hard and grassless by the feet of many dancers.

The furniture of the *tapúi* was fairly simple. There were small, low wooden benches carved from a single block of wood, sometimes, if not always, in the shape of animals. Hammocks were knotted of cords of *caraguatá* fiber and perhaps also from cotton. Strelnikov mentions a modern hammock of pigskin,[50] and therefore hide may formerly have been so used, although this is

[48] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 741.

[49] Honey probably had unusual importance to certain aboriginal peoples of Brasil, for its qualities if not always for its quantity. This is also suggested indirectly. Today, the rural Neo-Brazilians in the region of the Cayuá attribute to wild honey a considerable dietetic and curative virtue.

[50] Strelnikov, 1928, p. 336.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Face painting for women and children is indicated for the aboriginal Cayuá, with the use of both the red *urucú* (*Bixa orellana*) and the dark *genipá* (*Genipa americana*) dyes. Judging from the present, only the women were expected to engage in smoking for pleasure, and the pipe was the common means by which tobacco was used by them. Some special use of tobacco as an intoxicant is likely for the shaman or *pa'i*. Pipes were molded of clay or carved of hard wood, sometimes the root of the *araçá* bush (tentatively identified with the *guava* or *goiaba*).

The aboriginal Cayuá had mouth blown flutes of bamboo. Stamping tubes[45] made of a large section of *taquara* (bamboo), of which the node of the lower end was left unperforated, were used by the women in group ceremonials. When the end was thumped on the ground, the *takwapá*, as it is called, emitted a dull resonating sound. The gourd rattle or *mbaraká* was used by the men, and this instrument was important in connection with the religious and curing ceremonies. The *takwapá* and *mbaraká* were probably kept in a sort of rack like an umbrella stand in a special place when they were not in use.

The musical bow in one form or another appears old in the area, although it would perhaps be impossible now to say if the miniature bow is aboriginal. (Musical bows do not seem to be indigenous to the South American tropical forest.) This is held in the mouth and stroked by another tiny bow strung inside of the first.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The basic social unit of the Cayuá was formerly the extended family, headed by an old man. Patrilocality is putatively indicated, though matrilocality was probably at least temporary. Marital locality was in any case tempered by the marriage of girls with the mother's brother. Descent seems to most investigators and to the present writer to have been patrilineal.[46]

The extended family was closely related to other aspects of Cayuá culture, notably to the kinship system, to economic organization, and to aboriginal architecture and the typical dwelling unit, the *tapái*. The *tapái*, a large structure, was the dwelling unit of the extended family. Here there was ample space for housing the several small families which comprised the larger unit. In fact, a structure of such a size and arrangement—a sort of "longhouse"—could not well have been adapted to any other size of group and organization of occupants. The small elementary families were distributed along the length of the dwelling, each stringing its hammocks, building its fire, and storing its equipment in its own section. Sections, however, were not parti-

[45] Cf. Izikowitz, 1935, pp. 151 ff.

[46] Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1946. One of the co-authors of this article, Galvão, worked with the writer among the Cayuá. His conclusions, both privately expressed and those published in the above article, accord in many respects with those of the writer, as far as social organization of the Cayuá is concerned. Cf. also Watson, V. D., 1944.

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tioned off or given any real means of privacy, to judge from the absence of comment to this point in the literature and the lack of any present tradition. Some *tapûi* apparently housed so many occupants that to uninitiated European observers such as Rengger[46] the dwelling groups were taken to be whole tribes, all the members of which were living under a single roof.

Adding to the impression of the *tapûi* group as an autonomous unit, sometimes mistaken for a "tribe," was the fact that each *tapûi* (perhaps group of *tapûi*) stood quite alone in the forest at some distance from the nearest neighboring *tapûi*. How great the distance may have been within a single recognized community of *tapûi*-extended families is not known, but it is quite clear that often, if not always, no other *tapûi* could be seen from the location of a given dwelling. This condition seems to have been associated in some way with the importance of hunting and gathering in a forest area and also with the Cayuá penchant for concealment of their dwellings and the trails to them. (The latter inclination is still today manifest in subtle ways.) Apparently one came suddenly and with no forewarning upon a *tapûi*, its clearing opening abruptly out of the dense surrounding forest. Such isolation could only stress the basic importance and discreteness of the extended family dwelling unit among the Cayuá, and its relative autonomy.

Economically also, the basic unity and autonomy of the extended family was given expression. The *tapûi* group was the fundamental production-consumption unit of the Cayuá. Its *kokwé*, or agricultural clearing, was farmed jointly by the extended family members and the produce jointly distributed. There are inferences that elementary families did not possess individual clearings; it is not impossible, however, that certain sections of the *tapûi's kokwé* plantation were separately assigned to the several component elementary families. It is not certain that hunting activity was joint, although certain types of fishing may have been, notably that in which the poisonous *timbó* plant was employed. In any case, the products of hunting and fishing were sometimes (perhaps regularly) jointly distributed in a manner suggesting the extended family as the basic group. In the preparation of *cãuí'* and the giving of a drinking fest in which large quantities of this beverage were consumed, the *tapûi* group was the smallest effective unit of the community. The women of the extended family were the ones to prepare the drink and the common (?) stores of the *tapûi* furnished the ingredients of corn, potatoes, or manioc.

The aboriginal relation of the extended family grouping to kinship suggests a controversial point. The Cayuá may have had a somewhat unusual type of marital right or presumptive marriage of mother's brother with sister's daughter (maternal uncle to niece). Wagley and Galvão state that they failed

[46] Rengger, 1835, pp. 120, 130–131.

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241 primary importance of men in agriculture. Besides clearing and burning, which
462 they have probably always done, men now plant, tend, or harvest a majority of crops. The female role in agriculture, although not insignificant, is limited usually to certain plants and operations, such as, for example, planting corn.

The present male role in agriculture seems well established, in sentiment as well as operation. An example is the Cayuá belief about the sensitiveness of gourds; a woman must never so much as walk through a gourd patch because her very smell could spoil the gourds (make them turn out with warts or spots on them or having shapes such as to render them useless for bottles or rattles). Yet there are other associations in agriculture which are equally exclusive of men. Men do more of the over-all work from clearing to harvesting, but women may (in some cases, must) plant certain crops, tend certain of them, and harvest certain ones, though not necessarily all the operations for each crop. Some of these operations are not rigidly prescribed as to sex, though others are. The precise details are not in every case agreed upon; the latter becomes evident when comparing notes from different informants. But the main points, including the notion that in agriculture certain tasks are to be performed by women and others by men, are unmistakable. Differences of detail, moreover, seem to be largely confined to the less important and less common plants and operations. Men appear to consider that the *kokwé* is primarily and essentially their responsibility and that women are, so to speak, called in to attend to a special plant or operation which pertains to them. On the other hand, some widows maintain gardens of their own and may be "employed" to work in the fields of other men, if that is necessary to contribute to their self-support. The task of bringing home the products of the *kokwé* for
178 the daily meals is clearly a female one.

594 Joint vs. individual labor is considered at greater length under a later head-
476 ing regarding the changed size and composition of the consumption-production group (see pp. 87–91). However, since the division of labor is also involved, joint
596 and individual labor are mentioned briefly here. The main point is that more work is accomplished individually and less work jointly at present than was formerly the case, as far as the evidence goes. For one thing, production (and consumption) is now primarily carried on by elementary families. This means that usually a single adult male, assisted by his wife in those operations which pertain to females, produces almost the entirety of what is consumed by his own (elementary) family. Production (and consumption) was formerly to a much larger extent carried on by extended family households; this was particularly true of agricultural production. Now there are almost universally individual (elementary family) *kokwé* instead of a smaller number of extended family *kokwé*.

476 It is difficult to know how to relate the institution of the *puʃirão*, or joint work party, as it is and as it used to be, to the matter of individual vs. joint

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work. We have practically no information about the importance of the *puǰirão* in the Cayuá past, but the widespread existence of the institution among Tupi-Guarani peoples certainly suggests that for the Cayuá, too, it was formerly, as now, a functioning arrangement for accomplishing certain types of work jointly. The *puǰirão* is a largely spontaneous affair. It is called the day before, or a few days in advance, by one individual or sometimes two—perhaps brothers, father and son, or cousins—who each have a certain piece of work they wish to have done jointly. A varying number of people may be asked to come on the specified day, according to the extent of the work to be done and the amount of *cãwi'* beer the host of the work party has to offer in return for help. The ones asked may not all necessarily come, but most people generally do. They also tend to be relatives and those closest to the giver of the work party. It should be mentioned, however, that in a village the size of Taquapiri nearly everybody is considered in some way related, so kinship, taken broadly, is hardly definitive of the composition of the *puǰirão*. Women may also give joint work parties for certain female tasks, such as corn planting, but do so less frequently than men, at least at the present time.

Puǰirão work is, of course, joint work. It seems possible, on a purely conjectural basis, that the modern *puǰirão* represents the survival from aboriginal times of some sort of reciprocal work obligations among the lineages or extended families of a village, or perhaps even between neighboring villages where there were mutual relatives. The present composition of the work parties would certainly not preclude such a possibility, but there is no unmistakable evidence of it. The joint and concurrent calling of *puǰirão* by close relatives, father and son, and so forth, suggests that aboriginally the extended family was basic to the institution.

It is rather difficult to say whether more or less joint work is carried on now through recourse to the *puǰirão* than through whatever aboriginal arrangement corresponded to it. The writer suspects that the answer is less joint work now; there are at present a fair number of people at Taquapiri who never or almost never give a *puǰirão* and also those—though not always the same ones—who never or rarely participate in the *puǰirão* of others. Some individuals say they would like to be able to give a *puǰirão* but cannot because they lack the necessary corn or other alternative ingredients required to make *cãwi'* for the workers. In some cases the reason for this lack is that these individuals are "over-specialized" as peons and spend too much time away from the village working for their masters and too little attending to their own agricultural affairs. It may also be that the economy of the elementary family unit is less stable from year to year in production and matters respecting ability to give and participate in *puǰirão* than was the case with the larger extended family unit.

It is not clear whether any differences exist between the present and the

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Present Basic Production and Consumption Unit of Society

Today the basic production-consumption unit is the elementary family instead of the extended family. Two closely related changes are (a) a shift in house type (architecture), and (b) a shift in the dwelling pattern. If there had been no change in the size of the primary producing and consuming unit, changes in architecture and in dwelling patterns probably would have been unnecessary and hence might not have occurred—or they might have been impossible. It is equally likely that the producing and consuming unit could not have changed, or changed so much, without corresponding changes in house type and in dwelling pattern. The three aspects, therefore, seem to have followed closely and reinforced each other in their mutual effect. It will be necessary to consider these aspects separately, however, taking the question of production-consumption unit first.

The elementary family, as a rule, is composed of a pair of spouses and their offspring, and this group is today primary and basic in production and consumption and as a dwelling unit.[139] This is the group that generally lives together in a separate dwelling, and the group which produces together according to the recognized division of labor by sex and age. What this group produces is destined for its own consumption; and, as a corollary, very little of what it consumes comes from any other source than its own production.

The *tapúi* type of "longhouse" admirably suited the aboriginal need of a large dwelling for the extended family. But today there is only one house in Taquapiri, except for the lone *tapúi*, which is large enough for any but the merest skeleton of an extended family. This single exception is the only structure which appears to house an extended family—not even the *tapúi* does. However, there are a few other cases of dwellings where occupants are not all members of a single elementary family, and these suggest former extended family usages. Non-members who live with certain elementary families are often widowed or divorced sisters or daughters of the male head of the household.

Each household has its own *kokwé* from which it obtains the largest amount of its food. This condition is like the aboriginal one except in the size of the household group; hence there are now more *kokwé*. Both the man and his wife work in the *kokwé*, and are alone responsible for its care, except for joint work parties which they may occasionally hold. In the latter case—in a small *puširão*, at least—the husband ordinarily accompanies the party of men who have come to help with the work, while the wife produces in advance of the affair the necessary *cāwī'* for the group. Within the elementary family, fire-

[139] Dwelling is technically a form of consumption, of course, the house being that which is "consumed."

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number of workers could produce a modern type house in the amount of time it would take them to build a much larger *tapûi*. Given metal tools, however, the ordinary elementary family can make reasonable headway with the construction of a modern house, especially with the occasional assistance of relatives. (Assistance is sometimes almost indispensable, particularly in the long and repeated trips to the forest to bring building materials, such as thatch and bamboo trunks.) But a man and his wife, even assisted intermittently by close relatives, would move exceedingly slowly in erecting a *tapûi*. In other words, building a *tapûi* is a large-scale operation requiring a number of people, with or without metal tools, whereas the modern house requires only a small work group, granted the machete.[142] Thus the modern small house seems intimately related to the elementary family in the matter of production.

Cayuá dwelling patterns also reflect the present production-consumption unit. At Taquapiri a considerable number of the houses are closely grouped at the same place. With transitory Cayuá occupation of agricultural land, many houses are necessarily situated at considerable remove from their *kokwé*, some up to as much as a mile or even more.[143] Moreover, it often happens that a man may have two fields under cultivation, and he may thus have an even greater distance to cover in walking from his house to his agricultural work.[144]

Elementary families (judging from Taquapiri, at least) tend almost uniformly to locate their houses close to those of their nearest relatives. Thus, the elementary family houses are now largely grouped as to what would formerly have been extended family affiliations. At Taquapiri this clustering of houses has resulted in greater distance to go to get to the fields. Even in the case of a

[142] The existing *tapûi* at Taquapiri was built jointly by men from several related families, but families not all related to each other as components of an extended family. The lone *tapûi* now has certain communal aspects, too, not characteristic of other houses.

[143] Judging from the Cayuá settlements that we observed—which were not by any means half of the total in Brazil—the location of houses in relation to fields at Taquapiri may not be typical. For there the largest number of houses is clustered fairly closely giving the settlement much the impression one thinks of in a village. Elsewhere—in the other three settlements of Cayuá visited—the present arrangement of houses, widely scattered in the forest and each usually located in the middle, or on the edge, of its respective *kokwé* was much more suggestive than Taquapiri of the probable aboriginal situation. Even at Taquapiri there are some individuals who have located their houses away from the village cluster and have put them next to or in their *kokwé*. This contributes to the impression that location apart, and not the "village" type, is the older arrangement. It is also possible that the break-up into elementary family units is not in other places so marked as at Taquapiri.

[144] Different kinds of soil are recognized as being favorable to different crops; also, it is believed—probably with justification—that it takes a while for the ants and other plagues to "discover" a *kokwé* newly cut from the forest. Once they "discover" a field, they multiply enough to hamper the growing of crops most susceptible to them. Thus, corn, for example, is almost always a preferred first or second crop in a new *kokwé*. Manioc tends to attract ants very rapidly and therefore has to be shifted frequently. The occupation of agricultural land varies with a number of factors but probably averages around four or five years.

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few individuals, whose houses are not located within the village cluster but near their *kokwé*, there is still evidently some tendency to locate nearby close relatives. These latter individuals, however, have achieved a more satisfactory balance between the ideal of location near one's field, on the one hand, and continuance of the traditional location with one's kin, on the other.

Some have not successfully resolved the implicit conflict between proximity to *kokwé* and proximity to kin. For a few the distance to their *kokwé* is small enough that it can be traversed, even daily, without much inconvenience. But for others, the distance is so considerable that their round of work activity is affected. There are cases in which individuals must spend from a half hour to an hour merely in getting to their clearings from their houses. The hardship is particularly felt during the season of more intensive agricultural activity. It must also be kept in mind that not only the man but also the woman is concerned since she, too, works in the clearing and must frequently go there to bring back the day's food rations.

The problem of extreme distance has been partly resolved by some Cayuá by the use of small, house-like structures in their *kokwé*. In these shelters they can stay overnight or for several days during the time when they must be most constantly in their fields for work. Two families move completely to their "summer homes" during the active agricultural season. Most field houses, however, are not presently ordered to serve for more than occasional and temporary quarters—for overnight or in case of sudden rain when there would not be time to get back to the settlement.

More often than not, the field house is primarily a storehouse for non-perishable agricultural produce and farm gear, and it is not necessarily also used as a field shelter. One might therefore judge that the use of the field house as a shelter emerged after the development of the structure as a field storehouse. A number of Cayuá have field storehouses but have not adapted them for dwelling purposes. Those which are adapted for shelter thus seem to represent but special uses in the general development of storehouses for agricultural produce.[145] The present cultural inconsistency on the point of location in

[145] On the point of whether the so-called *paiol* (this is a Portuguese word) is aboriginal or modern, the writer cannot pronounce since this was overlooked in the field work. It is a practice of some local Neo-Brazilians to have such storehouses in their *roças*, although they might conceivably have obtained this idea from the aborigines, as they certainly have done in the case of many other agricultural traits. The *paiois* vary in construction, depending on their particular use (i.e. for stores only or also for shelter). Some are built above the ground on low piles. The writer's supposition is that the Cayuá field shelter-storehouse is recent because of the modern implications of (a) a considerable agricultural surplus to be stored, (b) inadequate storage in the modern dwelling house (probably not the case with the larger *tapúi* and its storage shelves), and (c) the recency of the shelter requirement for such a field house. None of these points would seem to favor the argument of an aboriginal analogue of the *paiol*. However, if such were the case, it might still be argued that the aboriginal storehouse has nevertheless been affected by factors of acculturation, especially in its now occasional conversion for shelter.

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position of *capitão* remained the single definite office of the village as a whole and a point from which power could be directed. But there is also still a tendency for an older man from each of the various kin nuclei to act as informal leader of such a group of relatives. Some of the kin groups now take on the appearance of factions within the village, and under the present system all but one faction must at any given time be officially "out of office." Wagley and Galvão have noted certain aspects of this arrangement among the Cayuá and have compared it to that of the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara (Guajajara), and Tupi-Guarani groups farther to the north in Brazil:

> This kinship system is correlated among the Cayuá, the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara with basically similar forms of social organization. All three tribes have now or had extended families headed up by an older man who attracts a group of young men into his group through matrilocal residence. Among the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara, an older man of some prestige gathers an extended family group about him by manipulation of the kinship system and by adoption of as many "daughters" as possible.[165]

The present "factions," which are largely the residuum of the aboriginal extended family system, are influential in proportion to their numbers and the prestige of their members and leaders. Their influence also depends, of course, on the extent to which the faction group accepts the assumption of leadership by the faction leader, and this is probably something less than in the past, when the then extended families lived under a single roof. Moreover, some adherents of present factions may have partially departed from the aboriginal principle of extended family kinship in forming their allegiances. Residence apparently determined allegiance aboriginally; that principle seems to have curbed any ambiguities of kin affiliation. But these ambiguities are greater now, without so strong a residence principle, and they may even permit individuals to affiliate somewhat as the spirit moves them. There are persons, for example, who come from outside the village and whose residence may be to a certain extent indeterminate at present. The ultimate adherence of these individuals to one faction or another, nevertheless, swells its numbers.

While it is not known whether any particular number of factions is typical of Cayuá villages, there were at Taquapiri in 1943 only two main factions that were politically active and hence in the foreground. There were about five or six other small kin nuclei whose political affiliation did not seem to be permanently committed. Most of these other nuclei took no prominent part in political maneuvers during our stay, but it is likely that their passive support, at least, was usually counted on by one or the other of the more active groupings.

[165] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, p. 22. The present writer disagrees with these authorities as to the rigidity and permanency implied for matrilocal residence, as far as the Cayuá are concerned.

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The feasibility of a change to the elementary family is partly a result of (I.b.) the introduction of metal implements leading to (II. A. c.) greater individual efficiency in agricultural work. At the same time, (II. A. a.) the increased importance of agricultural work has been a reinforcing factor. We have already noted (II. B. c.) that individual work, as opposed to joint or cooperative work, has become more important in agriculture and house-building. Severally, these interrelated factors have made it practicable for smaller domestic units to produce independently for their own consumption the currently recognized goods of the economy. Not only can an elementary family now provide for themselves without fear of too great a fluctuation in food yield from one season to the next, but now there is even a chance of a small surplus for trade. Successful food production in the present smaller family group probably does not entail effort greatly beyond that long characteristic in the culture.

We must now turn to a consideration of why a shift to a basic elementary family was desirable, in the sense in which we have been using the term. This gradual shift in sentiments is closely related to the complex of factors which (II. B. c.) individualized the division of labor. Most notable have been (II. A. e.) the *changa* and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians. Both of these activities, as has been shown (see pp. 107–109), tended to emphasize individualistic operations and tended to create conditions in conflict with any other distribution of goods than an individualistic one as in the present elementary family. It may be, in fact, that (II. B. c.) individualization of labor and (II. B. e.) the shift to a basic elementary family are but different facets of the same larger trend; in any event, they are intimately related.

A more general impingement of acculturational factors upon the extended family system involves rules of residence. It is reasonable to assume, even in the lack of detailed facts, that there existed aboriginally a certain relation between the residence rules upon which the extended family was based and the sex division of labor. Perhaps the relation was keyed to a primary importance of women in agriculture; perhaps it was keyed to some other aspect of the sex division of labor. Whatever the key factor(s) for residence, the changed sex division of labor with the new importance of men in agriculture and in production as a whole would almost inevitably be a disturbing element in one sense or another. We can be fairly certain, that is, that the aboriginal division of labor by sex was of some importance and that any basic restructuring of it would make for some important change in the extended family system. So stated,

[121] as well as interactions necessary or possible in the light of such operations. "Desirability" here is clearly Homans' sentiments: for an operation or a different form of interaction to become effective, not only does it have to be feasible in terms of the given technology, social organization, etc., but the sentiments attaching to the older form have to become weak enough for the people to adopt the new mode of behavior.

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this is, to be sure, a rather unspecified influence. But when we note, as we have, the presence of just such other factors as would definitely favor the emergence of an elementary type of family, it becomes somewhat more to the point to mention even so unspecifiable an influence toward change as this. To say the very least, the changed sex division of labor would have had, so to speak, a loosening effect on the extended family. It may well be argued, furthermore, that the frictions an extended type of family will inherently generate are bound to cause its demise if supporting factors and those which mitigate friction are withdrawn, as it has been suggested they were in the present case.

One possible point of conflict of (II. B. a.) the increased importance of men in agriculture, and in the economy in general, with certain practices of the aboriginal extended family was the putative bride service of the pre-Conquest Cayuá. It is likely that bride service was weakened when the economic contribution of women decreased while that of men took the opposite turn. The argument is that bride service was based on the aboriginal woman's economic importance in the extended family. Her marriage, therefore, constituted a sizeable economic loss to her family and a consequent gain to the family into which she married. If this much is granted—and the evidence for aboriginal Cayuá bride service is admittedly not conclusive, it can readily be seen that a diminishing economic role of women would be a definite weakening factor in the custom of bride service.

Now bride service among the coastal and Paraguayan Tupi-Guarani, and putatively among the early Cayuá, was accompanied by the temporary matrilocal residence of a newly established married pair. This usage was necessarily integrated into the reigning extended type of family. It may be argued, therefore, that the gradual loss of bride service would mean the gradual discontinuance of temporary matrilocal residence. Any weakening of these usages, it is urged, would prepare the way for changes in the extended family system, such as neolocal or elementary family residence, particularly (and perhaps only) if there were other factors in the situation which also favored elementary family residence.[188]

If we assume warlikeness on the part of the aboriginal Cayuá (see pp. 38–39), or at least assume a standing need for defense against warring neighbors, it is not far-fetched to point out that the extended family probably had some func-

[188] What if matrilocality were the preeminent aboriginal rule of residence among the Cayuá (an hypothesis argued by some but not favored by the writer)? In that case, the present argument, at least, would be even clearer than it is. That is, a matrilocal extended family would be based presumably upon the importance in agriculture of a nucleus of cooperating kinswomen. A change in the sexual division of labor, with increased male importance in agriculture, quite conceivably would favor the gradual abandonment of matrilocality and hence possibly of any extended family at all. This would be even more likely if the suggestion proved to be correct that male labor in agriculture etc. has always been less joint or cooperative than female.

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tion in the sense of social efficiency in war.[166] The patrilocal extended family, for example, would have the advantage of being a group of closely related males living together. With (I. a.) the final guarantee of freedom from hostile attack and the prohibition of Cayuá aggressive warfare, the defensive function of the patrilocal (or other) extended family was removed. Such a sequence of events can hardly have played more than a minor, contributory role in the abandonment of the extended family, of course, but the effect of contributory factors is nonetheless cumulative.

Why has (1) a change to small house types accompanied the change in the type of family and the size of basic social units in Cayuá acculturation? Perhaps it is to be expected, since the Cayuá production-consumption group is also always the dwelling group, the aboriginal extended family in its *tapûi*, just as much as the modern elementary family in the modern type of small houses. Hence, reduced to the least common denominator of family type, the elementary families will ultimately come to have separate structures of their own, and these will necessarily be of a different and smaller type than those suitable for extended families. At any rate, there is little more which can apparently be said regarding the "desirability" of the change to small house types. It may, therefore, be asked if the production of the small house is more feasible for the elementary family than the *tapûi*. (There is little doubt that the construction of *tapûi* was primarily carried out by the members of extended families acting as a group.) The answer is clearly affirmative, that modern small house architecture is closely related to the housebuilding capacities of the elementary family. The small house has become feasible for the small family mainly because of (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements, primarily the machete and the axe. These tools have brought housebuilding of the modern type well within the labor resources of the elementary family, whereas, although the machete and axe have doubtless also facilitated the building of *tapûi*, they have certainly not made *tapûi* construction feasible for so small a working group.[167]

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[166] It is more than possible that any Cayuá aggressiveness which ever existed, comparable to that among other Tupi-Guarani, had disappeared before the coming of the whites and the establishment of the SPI actually prohibited warfare. This might account for the lack of any mention in the literature of notable Cayuá aggressiveness. But even with the early cessation of aggressive warfare by themselves, the Cayuá were not exempt from fear of hostile attack by others until at least late in the 19th century. Thus patrilocal family efficiency in warfare (defense) might have outlasted the loss of Cayuá aggressive warlikeness early in the acculturational period.

[167] It could be argued, of course, that some other types of architecture than the present might have been adopted in response to the necessity for a change to smaller houses. Perhaps merely a smaller version of the *tapûi* might have been developed instead of the radically different type of dwelling which the Cayuá (at Taquapiri) did adopt. In the change of house types outlined, the new houses were probably modelled upon white prototypes introduced into the region with the European advent. A simplistic fallacy would be perpetrated, however, if one were to say merely that the present house types were "borrowed" from the whites. This, while the presumable fact, is also the least important part of the matter, and such a statement would tend to obscure the reasons

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Only (2) the shift in dwelling pattern remains to be considered in its relation to the changed basic social unit. We have already seen (pp. 85–87) that the break-up of the small number of extended families characteristic of the aboriginal local groups into the larger number of component elementary families meant a conflict between two aboriginal usages. These were, first, residence among kindred (whether matrilocal or patrilocal does not matter here) and, second, establishment of dwellings near their respective agricultural clearings or *kokwé*. The two practices were quite in accord with each other aboriginally, but in the modern situation they are not always reconcilable. In most cases, the location of elementary family dwellings among those of kinsmen has prevailed, and often at the expense of nearness to the *kokwé*, where a man must frequently go to work on his crops. Apart from the change to a basic elementary family itself, the most important acculturational factor in this pull between traditions is (II. A. a.) the growth of agriculture, necessitating the use of a larger area for cultivation. Thus many individuals must establish *kokwé* at some distance from their dwellings to have desirable land. The shifting nature of land use only increases this factor. The modern dwelling pattern represents one of the clearest Cayuá examples of the splitting of formerly amenable elements of an aboriginal complex and the development of a clash between them. No local Brazilian precedent exists to explain, via the direct borrowing argument, the present Cayuá conflict.

The final resolution of the pull between traditions of location near kin and location near *kokwé* is not apparent at present. The summer field house (see pp. 86–87) seems hardly a permanent answer. As far as the tendency to establish near *kokwé* becomes effective, it must have the result of further emphasizing the social discreteness of the elementary family as the basic production-consumption unit. To the extent that the traditional dwelling location near kin prevails, there will be the problem of distance to the *kokwé*. Nor can kin nuclei always solve the problem by jointly relocating their several houses because their *kokwé* are often not all together.[168]

It is necessary in ever increasing degree to go far out from the center of the village to find new land suitable for cultivation. It may even be that the Cayuá of Taquapiri, if not of other *reservas* likewise, will in the future face a land problem because their reservation is not unlimited as were their domains in the past. Otherwise, technological improvements will be necessary, such as rotation, more regular fallowing, or the use of the plow. (The plow is not used in

why the house type of the whites could be and was borrowed. Such a simple statement would imply the commonly encountered idea of a sort of "cultural osmosis."

[168] In connection with the broader considerations of rural sociology, the Cayuá conflict between location of the house near the fields or location in a group with other houses is nicely paralleled by the different common American and common European rural practices. The common American pattern is scattered farmhouses, each on its own farm lands, and the European is the agricultural village with outlying farm lands to which the farmer villagers must daily travel.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

this region by Neo-Brazilians either.) Such changes might permit the Cayuá to use their land longer and less destructively. Conceivably, however, recourse to the *changa* may bulk ever larger in the lives of the people as a compensation for diminishing agricultural returns. In this manner they might be reduced to the status largely of agricultural laborers for the local Neo-Brazilian population, and hence would probably become de-tribalized.

II. B. g. "Economic attitudes: (1) relations of individual and group change. (Formerly more cooperativeness and helpfulness.) Associated with foregoing is (2) greater commercialism or economic rationalism." The change in sentiments and relations of the individual *vis-à-vis* the group has closely followed (II. A. C.) greater individual productivity and efficiency, particularly in such an increasingly important economic activity as agriculture. It has already been noted (II. B. c.) that the division of labor changed in accordance with technological possibility, so that individuals are, in fact, more self-sufficient and now depend less upon others in their productive activity. Attitudes have correspondingly changed, and individualism of undertaking is increasingly assumed in sentiment as well as in interaction.

In the Cayuá instance, some of the same acculturational factors which historically brought about (II. B. c.) a more individualistic division of labor also tended to make for a more commercialistic view of economic matters. Two principal causes are (II. A. e.) the *changa* for Neo-Brazilians, and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians, particularly the sentiments they engender on the part of the Cayuá. This is not a simple "adoption," in some crude sense, of Neo-Brazilian ways of thought and action; it is not, as it appears superficially, merely a gradual approximation of the native culture to the European culture. The point is rather that, the more Cayuá engaged in trade and work relations with their settler neighbors, the more they were obliged, for their own self-interest, to assume certain new attitudes and forms of behavior in these dealings. The new attitudes necessary on the part of the Cayuá were such as would conflict with the comparable attitudes of aboriginal culture. Gradually out of the resulting conflict emerged the sentiments which we have called individualism and commercialism.

Relations with the Neo-Brazilians in the *changa* constitute a type of productive activity for the Cayuá in which the individual's own work and own self interest are his sole concern. No other organization of the *changa* could probably succeed because of the leading part the whites, with their different orientation, play in the arrangement. In any event, all of the gain from work in the *changa* goes to the individual worker, and while engaged as a *peão*, he is effectively removed from the physical presence of other Cayuá. Thus the *changa* is not collective work; it is almost always individual.

The *changa* tends to give rather exclusive emphasis to the economic gain itself which is involved. In other words, a rational economic view, or commercialism, is fostered by this wage-work. There is little of the quality of helpful-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952. SM4 Guarani SM4

separate or distant residence may be sufficient to warrant exclusion of a person from the incest group. The following speculation as to what has happened in Cayuá social organization is therefore offered: (1) As a result of acculturational forces (II. B. e.) extended families, which were formerly allied by certain matrimonial ties, have ceased to exist. The related matrimonial ties of alliance have likewise disappeared. (2) It was formerly significant, regarding permissible marriages, whether or not a woman belonged to one's own extended family and residence group. A man could not marry a woman belonging to his own residence group (nor could he wed sisters and parallel cousins) but he might marry one from another household, which would include, given patrilocal residence, sisters' daughters. (3) The significance of residence has been lost or changed since, at present, none but one's own wife and children (or parents and siblings, depending on the point of reference) normally lives in the same (elementary family) group. Thus sister's daughter is now in this respect no different from—in fact may be significantly parallel to—other female relatives who are and aboriginally were encompassed by Cayuá sentiments of incest.

The argument might be restated as follows: with the disappearance of the extended family, a type of preferential marriage or presumptive marital claim, as well as the particular notion of the incest boundary associated with it, were evidently subject to change. For one thing, there was no longer a question of cementing ties between particular extended family households, such as that into which a man's sister had married. Concerning ties between elementary families, since whatever marriage normally involves a spouse from some other elementary family, a marital alliance with one potential affinal group is theoretically as advantageous as with another. Moreover, in the former extended family the incest boundary apparently included all female relatives, at least to the degree of first cousin, and their children. The one exception was sister's daughter, man speaking. In the realignments attending the loss of the extended family, we suggest that the incest boundary came to include this formerly excepted relationship as well. Other things being equal, there would be a strain in such a direction. In the first place, both parallel and cross cousins are called brothers and sisters, and secondly, marriage with the children of brothers was aboriginally tabooed for men, while marriage with the children of any sibling was tabooed for women. The sister's-daughter marriage, therefore, in the new situation, and without special motives in its favor, would tend to be brought into line with the incest taboo against marriage with other relatives parallel to sister's daughter.

One function of the presumptive avuncular marriage was to "consolidate" a given household through marriage back into it of the female issue of its women. The possibility of such a correlation is strong aboriginally. This operated much as the cross-cousin marriage does in certain cultures. But with (II. B. e.) the dissolution of the extended family household in favor of the

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*). The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the *Cainguá:* Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds.

The war arrows of the ancient *Guaraní* were often tipped with human bones.

The arrow shafts are made either of the native tacuati reed (*Merostachys argyronema*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapi, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*).

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet-bow is widely used by young *Cainguá* boys to shoot birds or small rodents.[8] The missiles are small clay pellets.

Cainguá clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guaraní* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guaraní* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon has not been reported since the 17th century.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, the social unit was probably the large extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great *Guaraní* leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs who commanded obedience during expeditions.

All *Apapocuva-Guaraní* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and with miracles performed on behalf of their people.

A *Guaraní* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some stronger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of *Cainguá* communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sargento, and

[8] For a good description of the *Guaraní* pellet-bow, see Azara, 1809, 2:67.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

and Paraná before 1830. Some of the western branches of the Paraná system are still familiar to the Cayuá of Brazil, especially the Rio Amambai and the Rio Iguatemy which flow through their present area.

A map[7] published in 1911 shows only a few small nuclei of Cayuá remaining in the regions east of the Paraná, demonstrating that they had at that time probably already withdrawn or largely disappeared from these parts. Today they are probably almost completely confined to what seems to have always been their traditional home in southern Mato Grosso and northern Paraguay.

Numbers

On the Brazilian side of the frontier the numbers of the Cayuá have been variously estimated, but to our knowledge, nothing like a census or a creditable calculation exists. A rough count of the inhabitants of the more accessible and stable villages may exist in the hands of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios (hereinafter to be referred to as the SPI). But large numbers of Cayuá live scattered in the *mata* or forest, in what seem to be small kinship groups — perhaps extended families — without anything like a true *village* grouping, and of whose numbers, therefore, no count has probably been made. There is, furthermore, a constant exchange of population between the Brazilian and the Paraguayan Cayuá, even at great distances, but especially in the case of those who live very near or on the frontier. Probably even less is known about the numbers of the Paraguayan Cayuá than the Brazilian. Perhaps a reasonable estimate for the Brazilian Cayuá would be something between 2,000 and 4,000, excluding the possibility that there are other nuclei of those forest-dwellers of which we did not hear.

Present-day Economy

A brief survey of what Cayuá economy is at present in the little *aldeia* which we studied may make clearer the discussion of the effects of certain historical events upon the economy. The inhabitants of

[7] Map organized by H. von Ihering, *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VIII, (São Paulo, 1911). A modified version of this map appears with the present article.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

592 is concerned. The house in question was a *tapuy*, the large, archaic
156 house type of the Cayuá, which is becoming less frequent nowadays.
178 Its number of occupants was sixteen in the case Rengger cites. This,
476 we have good reason to suppose, was an extended family. We should
[342] like to go into this matter to a greater extent, but space unfortunately
[596] does not permit. Suffice it to say, for our point of economic indivi-
[594] dualism, that while *roças* may have belonged to, been worked by, and supplied *extended* families a hundred years ago, they are today worked almost exclusively according to individual, elementary families, which also compose the usual household units. This is true of Taquapiry, at least.

476 Before turning to a brief note on present-day Cayuá peonage,
156 a third and final point is the apparent tendency to consider the joint
476 work party for work in the *roça* and the building of houses as of distinctly limited utility and possibly (in the case of certain individuals) as more a social obligation than a useful and pleasant way to get work done. It is true that some individuals have extensive recourse to the *puxirão*, as it is called, in taking care of the various parts of their agricultural work. But others, though fewer, rarely arrange *puxirões*, preferring to do the work themselves. These latter persons sometimes allege that the amount of work accomplished at a *puxirão* is frequently small compared to the "cost" in *chicha* and, furthermore, that the work is generally hastily and poorly-done, except for those types of agricultural or other activities where a large group of individuals is of obvious advantage or practically indispensable. At least one individual almost never gives a *puxirão* and rarely participates in those of others. He represents an extreme point of view but he is not completely alone. Such factors are operative, too, incomplete integration within the group (there are several newcomers and others who remain "on the edges") and ability to "afford" a *puxirão* (that is, to afford what it would "cost" in corn or other goods to supply the necessary *chicha*). But even in their totality these considerations do not cancel out the possibility of an increasing individualism in economic activity and a consequent relative passing out of use at Taquapiry of the joint work party.

Ce 178 439 323 [177] /331 cont./

The pernicious and corruptive influence of the white men, which makes so many ravages among the poor Chané, has at least spared their pottery industry. They still manufacture considerable quantities of vessels which they sell to the other Indians and to the whites. As clever business men they complied with the taste of their new clients, and the motifs with which they decorate the pieces they export are as hideous and gaudy as the ones which ornament half-breed or creole textile fabrics or baskets.

C G 177 178 342 596

Moreover, we can understand historically certain phases of the transformation of the culture of the Guarani when they mixed with the Chané. The ancient Guarani used to live in the large house or maloca, that is, in gigantic huts sheltering several families. Having emigrated to the foot of the Andes, they kept until well into the 17th century a type of habitation which corresponded to a particular social organization (the large maternal and undivided family). In the 18th century we see them living in huts similar to the ones they still have today, intended to house only one family. In the same way one can witness the disappearance of cannibalism, which in the 18th century is no more than a memory among the Chiriguano. Certain traces of it have survived up to our day.

E 177 178 266

C 17

Thus these pages justify the assertions of the preface. With the Chiriguano we are dealing with a nation of recent formation whose civilization is a composite of Guarani, Arawak, and especially Andean elements. The geographic area inhabited by the Chiriguano can be divided into as many diverse zones of acculturation as America has. It has brought about, not the joining of three cultures, but their fusion.

Résumé

C 105 175

The Chiriguano belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family.

C [167]

They emigrated from Paraguay to the foot of the Andes in the last quarter of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th.